

## Message Text

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TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

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TOSEC 93

FOLLOWING REPEAT USINFO 111915Z FEB 75 SENT ACTION SECSTATE OPS CENTER

AND INFO SITUATION ROOM WHITE HOUSE

QUOTE:

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STATE OPS CENTER FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY TO DAVID GOMPERT  
FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

SECRETARY'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP -II (TAKE TWO OF THREE)

BEIRUT:

LEFTIST PRO-PLO AL-MUHARRIR ON MONDAY ACCEPTED THE LIKELIHOOD  
THAT A SINAI AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED. IT WROTE, "THE TRUE  
ROLE OF FORMAL (DIPLOMATIC) SESSIONS IS TO PUT THE FINAL TOUCHES  
ON AGREEMENTS ALREADY REACHED OUTSIDE THE CONFERENCE HALL...  
THIS BEING SO, KISSINGER'S PRESENT TOUR MAY BE CONSIDERED A KIND  
OF ACROBATIC DISPLAY...ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT SOME AGREEMENT  
HAS BEEN REACHED ON CARRYING OUT NEW WITHDRAWAL IN THE SINAI  
ON THE BASIS OF AN EGYPTIAN OFFER OF POLITICAL GUARANTEES TO  
ISRAEL."

CONSERVATIVE PRO-SAUDI AL-HAYAT ATTRIBUTED A LIKELY  
AGREEMENT TO STRONG AMERICAN PRESSURE ON ISRAEL.

PRO -SOVIET LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY AL-AKHBAR, DESCRIBING MR.  
KISSINGER'S TRIP AS AN ATTEMPT TO ISOLATE THE ARAB STATES FROM  
EACH OTHER AND TO PUT KING HUSSEIN IN A POSITION TO NEGOTIATE

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OVER THE WEST BANK, ATTACKED SAUDI ARABIA AND OTHER

"REACTIONARIES" FOR SUPPORTING THIS APPROACH.

THE DAILY STAR CARRIED A BYLINER'S VIEW THAT THE SECRETARY'S TRIP WAS BOUND TO FAIL BECUASE IT IGNORED THE LOCAL ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM AND FOCUSED EXCLUSIVELY ON SUPERPOWER ASPECTS.

DAMASCUS: BOTH TUESDAY DAILIES AND WIRE-SERVICE ACCOUNTS OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S ARRIVAL IN ISRAEL AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF TALKS THERE. AL-BAATH'S CHIEF EDITOR, SABER FALHUT, ASSERTED TUESDAY THAT "OUR ENEMY WORKS FOR THE SPLITTING OF THE ARAB FRONT, AND TO THIS END HIS COLLABORATORS PRESENT...PARTIAL SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS...FOR THE PURPOSE OF DYNAMITING ARAB SOLIDARITY, WHICH IS THE BRIDGE LEADING TO EVERY VICTORY." WHILE ENDORSING DIALOGUE AND OPEN-MINDEDNESS HE DECLARED, "WE MUST MMAKE ALL OUR MILITARY PREPARATIONS...ALWAYS READY TO CARRY OUT TO THE END ANY BATTLE IN THE INTEREST OF OUR RIGHT AND DIGNITY." WITHOUT THIS PREPARATION AND A WILLINGNESS TO MAKE THE NECESSARY SACRIFICES, "NO MEDIATOR IN THE WORLD CAN RETURN ARAB RIGHTS TO US..."

TUESDAY PAPERS HEADLINED THE ARRIVAL IN ISRAEL. ARTICLES NOTED THE SECRETARY'S ARRIVAL STATEMENT AND HIS STRESS ON MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL. ONLY ONE EDITORIAL MENTIONED THE SECRETARY, AND ONLY INDIRECTLY, ALTHOUGH SEVERAL EDITORIALS EXCORIATED ISRAEL FOR ITS ALLEGED STALLING TACTICS AND EXPULSION OF ARABS FROM THE WEST BANK.

TUESDAY'S GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED AR-RAI TOOK THE VIEW THAT THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH HAS BACKFIRED ON ISRAEL. IT SAID THE THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH "HAS PUT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AND SHE CAN NOW CALL FOR GENEVA AS A DEVICE FOR STALLING EVEN LONGER...ISRAEL ACCEPTED THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH KNOWING THAT WE (THE RABS) WOULD REJECT IT."

TUNIS:

HEAVY TUESDAY COVERAGE EMPHASIZED THAT THISTRIP WAS A LAST CHANCE FOR THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH "AND TO AVOID THE EXPLOSION WHICH IS INEVITABLE IN LATE APRIL IF THE SITUTATION REMAINS AS IT IS (OFFICIAL AL-MAIL). PRIVATELY OWNED AS-SABAH SAID NO AGREEMENT COULD LEAD TO PERMANENT PEACE UNLESS IT CONSIDERED THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS "TO A HOMELAND WITH GURARANTEED AND SECURE BORDERS."

RABAT:

ISTIQLAL PARTY AND FRENCH DAILIES AL-ALAM AND L'OPINION ALL PREDICTED FAILURE FOR THE CURRENT MIDDLE EAST MISSION. AL-UNCLASSIFIED

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ALAM WROTE, "IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE FAILURE OF PREVIOUS MISSIONS WAS IN THE ARAB INTEREST. AND IT IS CERTAIN THAT FAILURE OF HIS CURRENT TOUR WILL SERVE ARAB INTERESTS EVEN IF ISRAEL CONTINUES TO OCCUPY ARAB TERRITORY. DR. KISSINGER WILL NOT SUCCEED UNLESS HE CHANGES HIS METALITY..." L'OPINION DECLARED THAT "THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE IS BEING ENCOURAGED BY THE INTRANSIGENCE OF TEL AVIV...AND THE BLIND CONFIDENCE OF CERTAIN ARAB STATES IN AMERICAN DIPLOMACY...NAMELY CAIRO,

WHICH HOPES TO MAKE GAINS...AS A RESULT OF PRESSURE WHICH WASHINGTON CAN BRING TO BEAR ON ITS PROTEGE (ISRAEL)..."

LONDON: BRITISH PAPERS REPORTED INDICATIONS THAT ISRAEL IS TAKING A STRONG STAND AGAINST CONCESSIONS IN TALKS WITH THE SECRETARY AND THAT HIS MISSION RISKS FAILURE. THESE WERE AMONG TODAY'S HEADLINES: "DR. KISSINGER LANDS IN A SKEPTICAL ISRAEL" (TIMES); "KISSINGER TAKS FLEXIBLE STANCE..." (FINACIAL TIMES); "ISRAELI HAD LINE AS KISSINGER STARTS NEW TALKS" (DAILY TELEGRAPH); "KISSINGER TRIES AGAIN AMID DOUBTS ABOUT EGYPTIAN CONCESSIONS" (GUARDIAN).

TIMES JERUSALEM CORRESPONDENT ERIC MARSDEN WROTE THAT MR. KISSINGER "HAS INDICATED THAT HE MAY ABANDON HIS POLICY OF STAGE-BY-STAGE DIPLOMACY IF HE FAILS NOW. THERE IS A STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT HE WILL FAIL. ISRAEL'S NEGOTIATORS ARE EXPECTED TO TAKE A FIRM LINE....AMONG ISRAELIS, DISTRUST OF DR. KISSINGER HAS GROWN CONSIDERABLY SINCE HIS LAST VISIT."

THE GUADIAN'S WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, HELLA PICK,REPORTED: "THE U.S. HAS NOW PLAINLY CONCEDED THAT THE RUSSIANS MUST BE MORE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS AND THE ADMINISTRATION ACCEPTS THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WILL HAVE TO BE RECONVENED LATER THIS YEAR."

IN AN EDITORIAL, THE DAILY ELEGRAPH SAID OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL, "BOTH STILL LAY CLAIM TO SUPPORT DR. KISSINGER'S STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH. THE TROUBLE IS THAT NEITHER, ON PRESENT SHOWING, APPEARS READY TO MAKE THE NEXT STEP LARGE ENOGUH TO SATISFY THE OTHER...IT MAY HAVE TO BE GENEVA AFTER ALL."

FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN ELLISON WROTE IN THE DAILY EXPRESS THAT "SUCCESS LOOKS FRIGHTENINGLY FAR AWARY. WORSE, THERE IS EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT DR. KISSINGER MAY NOW HAVE GOT THINGS DANGEROUSLY WORONG IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THAT IF HE INSISTS ON FOLLOWING THE POLICIES HE STILL PROCLAIMS SO OPTIMISTICALLY FROM WASHINGTON, HE WILL PRECIPITATE THE VERY DISASTER HE IS TRYING TO AVOID." ELLISON ARGUED THAT A UNCLASSIFIED

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DECLARATION OF NON-BELLIGERENCY BY PRESIDENT SADAT MIGHT PROVOKE A "BACKLASH" FROM SYRIA THAT COULD START UP HOSTILITIES AGAIN.

HE CONTINUED: "GENEVA, OF COURSE, WOULD REPRESENT A VICTORY FOR RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY. IT WOULD END THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS... MARK THE END OF 'PAX AMERICANA' AND ALLOW MOSCOW INTO THE PEACE-MKAING....BUT IT MAY BE THE ONLY WAY FORWARD....THERE ARE REASONS TO SUPPOSE THAT MOSCOW IS EAGER TO GET TO GENEVA, NOT BECAUSE THE KREMLIN FEARS THAT KISSINGER IS ABOUT TO BE SUCCESSFUL BUT PRECISELY BECAUE THEY BELIEVE HE MAY BE AT THE POINT OF FAILURE." HWEVER, ELLISON CONCLUDED: "THE FACT STILL REMAINS: KISSINGER IS THE ONE MAN CAPABLE OF BRIDIGING THE MIDDLE EAST GAP AND IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT HE MAINTAIN THE PEACE-MAKING INITIATIVE."

THE LONDON DAILY MAIL REPORTED THAT "RUSSIAN PILOTS ARE

FLYING THE LATEST MIG-25 FIGHTERS ON RECONNAISSANCE MISSIONS FOR EGYPT...THE DISCLOSURE LAST NIGHT OF THE FACT THAT (RUSSIAN) ARMS ARE FLOWING AGAIN (TO EGYPT) WAS SIGNIFICANTLY TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH DR. KISSINGER'S ARRIVAL IN ISRAEL."

WEST GERMAN6:

PAPERS TUESDAY HEADLINED A "COOL" RECEPTION IN ISRAEL AND INDICATIONS THAT ISRAEL WAS TAKING A TOUGH POSITION. MOST COMMENTATORS SAID THIS TRIP WAS VERY IMPORTANT.

FOR EXAMPLE, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE SAID "THE MAJOR PARTICIPANTS...UNDERSTAND THAT ON THE OUTCOME OF THIS KISSINGER TRIP DEPENDS THE OUTCOME OF THE U.S. STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH. IF IT FAILS, THE ALTERNATIVES THEN WOULD BE TO RESORT AGAIN TO ARMS, OR TO STAGE AN EYEBALL-TO-EYEBALL CONFRONTATION AT A GENEVA CONFERENCE ATTEMDED BY EVERYBODY AND HIS UNCLE, WITH MOSCOW PERHAPS HOLDING THE WHIP HANDLE OVER THE PROCEEDINGS....YET THE POLICY OF 'SMALL STEPS' ITSELF COULD LEAD TO A RESULT THAT MIGHT BE ACCEPTED, SIGNED AND SEALED IN GENEVA--BUT THIS ONLY IF KISSINGER'S NEXT 'LITTLE' STEP IS A RATHER BIGN ONE." (END TAKE TWO) UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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